

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2933

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MORESBY

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

AMCONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 2672

CANBERRA ALSO FOR ASST SECY HABIB

E.O. 11653: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ASEAN

SUBJECT: ASEAN ATMOSPHERICS

REF: (A) JAKARTA 2395, (B) JAKARTA 2514

BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE ASEAN DOCUMENTS AND OPEN SESSION RHETORIC STRESSED ACHIEVEMENT OF CONSENSUS (IF MINIMAL) AND POTENTIALS OF FUTURE COOPERATION, WIDE DIFFERENCES IN STYLE AND APPROACH ON PART OF FIVE GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR LEADERS WERE OTHERWISE STRIKINGLY APPARENT THROUGHOUT SUMMIT. FILIPINO POSTURING, MALAYSIAN CAUTION, SINGAPOREAN RESTRAINED BRASHNESS, INDONESIAN CONSCIOUS HOST-PLAYING AND GENERAL THAI RETICENCE WERE ATMOSPHERIC
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COUNTERPARTS TO CLEAR SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN

THE PARTIES. EVIDENT DIVERGENCES, HOWEVER, ALSO SERVED TO EMPHASIZE SIGNIFICANCE OF EVEN MODEST DEGREE OF AGREEMENT THAT WAS ACHIEVED. FOLLOWING ARE NOTES BY EMBOFF IN BALI DURING SUMMIT. END SUMMARY.

1. KUKRIT PRAMOJ OPENING STATEMENT AT FEB. 23-25 ASEAN SUMMIT WHICH STRESSED WIDE DIVERSITY WITHIN ASSOCIATION WAS ATMOSPHERIC KEYNOTE OF CONFERENCE. DIFFERING STYLES AND INTERESTS OF MEMBER STATES WERE CLEARLY HIGHLIGHTED FOR CONFERENCE OBSERVERS BY CONTRASTING PERSONALITIES OF THE FIVE DELEGATION LEADERS.

2. PHILIPPINES: DOMINANT ATMOSPHERIC FEATURE OF CONFERENCE WAS GRANDSTANDING AND GENERAL PUBLIC RELATIONS OVERKILL ON PART OF MARCOS AND FILIPINO DELEGATION. FILIPINOS ON ARRIVAL (IN MULTIPLE SPECIAL PLANES) DISTRIBUTED THEIR OWN PRESS KIT, LARGER THAN BASIC ASEAN KIT PREPARED BY INDONESIANS AND CONTAINING INTER ALIA MORE THAN MOST OBSERVERS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE NEW SOCIETY. MARCOS GAVE TOTAL OF SEVEN PRESS CONFERENCES DURING SUMMIT, INCLUDING FOUR ON FIRST DAY AND ONE FOLLOWING "TEN EYES" SPECIAL MEETING ON SECOND DAY AT WHICH HE ANNOUNCED HE WAS ACTING AS SPOKESMAN FOR OTHER FOUR LEADERS. MARCOS SPOKE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY AT OPENING AND CLOSING SESSIONS (ONLY ONE OF FIVE TO DO SO), AND PROJECTED AMPLE QUANTITIES OF EGO AS WELL AS FREQUENT APPEARANCE OF TALKING DOWN TO OTHER FOUR REplete WITH HEAVENWARD GLANCES AND GRANDILOQUENT PAUSES BETWEEN PHRASES. AD-LIB PRESENTATION ALSO PRODUCED SEVERAL UNFELICITOUS PHRASES INCLUDING DESCRIPTION OF SUHARTO AS "FOUNDER OF HIS COUNTRY," AT WHICH INDONESIAN AUDIENCE VISIBLY WINCED, AND REFERENCE IN CLOSING ADDRESS TO "GODLIKE ACT OF CREATION" PERFORMED BY LEADERS AT SUMMIT WHICH PRODUCED AUDIBLE GASPS IN GALLERY.

3. FILIPINO POSTURING APPEARED ULTIMATELY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. INDONESIAN PRESS AND, REPORTEDLY, MANY IN GOI DELEGATION, WERE INCENSED AT WHAT WAS TAKEN AS MARCOS EFFORT TO UPSTAGE SUHARTO AND DOMINATE CONFERENCE. INDONESIAN DELEGATION MEMBERS ALSO LEAKED TO PRESS

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THAT, AS HAD BEEN CASE IN LONG DRAWN-OUT DISPUTE OVER APPOINTMENT OF FIRST ASEAN SECRETARY-GENERAL, MARCOS' RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT NECESSARY COMPROMISE WITH MALAYSIANS ON DISPUTES SETTLEMENT MECHANISM HAD DELAYED AND NEARLY FRUSTRATED PRE-SUMMIT AGREEMENT ON THIS CRUCIAL POINT. OTHER OBSERVERS INCLUDING WESTERN PRESS CORPS INITIALLY BEFUDDLED AND ULTIMATELY TURNED OFF BY PHIL DISPLAY.

4. INDONESIA: INDONESIAIS PLAYED TO HILT ROLES OF HOST, MEDIATOR AND DE FACTO LEADER OF CONFERENCE. FOUR HEADS OF STATE WERE WELCOMED AND SENT OFF INDIVIDUALLY WITH FULL MILITARY HONORS (PROCESS WHICH CONSUMED FULL DAY EACH ON DAYS BEFORE AND AFTER TWO-DAY SUMMIT). SUHARTO CALLED INDIVIDUALLY ON HEADS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS SUNDAY AFTERNOON FOLLOWING ARRIVALS AND AT SAME TIME REPORTEDLY OBTAINED AGREEMENT OF HUSSEIN ONN AND MARCOS TO COMPROMISE FORMULATION ON DISPUTES MECHANISM. SUHARTO OPENING AND CLOSING SPEECHES WERE TYPICALLY UNREVEALING GENERAL STATEMENTS BUT WERE DELIVERED WITH CONSIDERABLY MORE LIFE THAN USUAL SUHARTO FORMAL PRONOUNCEMENTS. OTHERWISE, SUHARTO CHAIRED OPEN SESSIONS WITH DEADPAN INSCRUTABILITY, ONLY NODDING OCCASIONALLY IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF VARIOUS POINTS MADE BY OTHER LEADERS. NEITHER SUHARTO NOR OTHER INDONESIAN DELEGATES HELD PRESS CONFERENCES DURING SUMMIT, ALLEGEDLY DUE TO HOST DUTIES BUT PROBABLY ALSO RELATED TO LANGUAGE CONSIDERATIONS (SUHARTO WAS ONLY LEADER NOT TO SPEAK IN ENGLISH). SUBSTANTIVE INDONESIAN FRUSTRATIONS OVER ASEAN UNWILLINGNESS TO BITE SECURITY BULLET APPEARED AT LEAST PARTIALLY COMPENSATED AT THE SUMMIT BY OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE HIGHLY PUBLIC AND UNIVERSALLY ACKNOWLEDGED LEADERSHIP ROLE.

5. MALAYSIA: HUSSEIN ONN WAS FIRST AND ALSO BY FAR THE LONGEST SPEAKER IN OPENING SESSION. HIS STATEMENT STRESSED NEED FOR GRADUALISM IN DEVELOPING ASEWY, IMPOSSIBILITY OF ASKING ANY MEMBER STATE TO DO MORE THAN IT PREPARED TO DO AT ANY GIVEN TIME, ADVANTAGES OF INFORMALITY AND OF "MAKING HAST SLOWLY." ONN'S UNDRAMATIC BUT PRECISE DELIVERY HIGHLIGHTED BASIC CAUSITON AND CONSERVATISM OF HIS MESSAGE. MALAYSIAN DELEGATES WERE UNUSUALLY CLOSE-MOUTHED THROUGHOUT SUMMIT, SUGGESTING ONN BOTH SET CONFIDENTIAL

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AND ENFORCED TONE FOR HIS DELEGATION.

6. SINGAPORE: LEE KUAN YEW AND HIS DELEGATION APPEARED TO TAKE CONSCIOUSLY RESTRAINED APPROACH TO CONFERENCE, STRESSING SINGAPORE'S WILLINGNESS TO GO AS FAR AS THE OTHERS PREPARED TO GO ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION, DESIRE FOR MAXIMUM POSSIBLE "CONCRETE" PROGRESS BUT APPRECIATION OF OTHERS' (I.E. INDONESIA'S) REASONS FOR PREFERRING GO-SLOW APPROACH. LEE IN BOTH OPENING AND CLOSING STATEMENTS WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO GIVE PERSONAL CREDIT TO SUHARTO FOR CRUCIAL INTERVENTION TO RESOLVE FINAL DEADLOCK PRIOR TO CONFERENCE. SERIES OF PRIVATE LEE-SUHARTO MEETINGS (REPORTEDLY FOUR IN ALL, MORE THAN ANY OTHER CHIEF OF DELEGATION) APPEAR TO HAVE OPENED WAY TO RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSONAL RAPPORT BETWEEN THE TWO MEN THAT HAD BEEN

STRAINED BY GOS VOTE ON TIMOR ISSUE IN UN AND PRE-SUMMIT
GOS-GOI MISUNDERSTANDING RE "FREE TRADE ZONE" PROPOSAL.

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R 270730Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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7. SINGAPOREAN BACK-SEATISM VIS-A-VIS SUHARTO AND
INDONESIA, HOWEVER, DID NOT OTHERWISE VISIBLY CRAMP
LEE'S ARTICULATE, TRENCHANT STYLE. IN OPENING STATEMENT
LEE UNAPOLOGETICALLY DESCRIBED SINGAPOREAN "MATTER-OF-
FACT HABIT OF FACING UP TO THE REALITIES OF LEFE, NO
MATTER HOW UNPLEASANT THEY MAY BE" (LATTER CLAUSE AS
DELIVERED BUT NOT CONTAINED IN PUBLISHED TEXT). LEE'S
REFERENCES IN OPENING ADDRESS TO U.S. AND WESTERN ACCOM-
MODATION WITH COMMUNIST INDOCHINA AND TO COMPETITION
BETWEEN ASEAN COUNTRIES AND INDOCHINA "MARXIST-SOCIALIST
SYSTEMS" WERE RE-EMPHASIZED IN HIS PRE-DEPARTURE PRESS
CONFERENCE WHEN HE RESPONDED TO PERSISTENCE OF QUESTION-

ING BY ONE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT BY NOTING HE WISHED
U.S. HAD BEEN EQUALLY PERSISTENT IN VIETNAM AND
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PARRIED QUESTION RE POSSIBILITY OF INDOCHINA STATES
JOINING ASEAN BY REFERRING TO (HIGHLY CRITICAL) "SALVO"
WITH WHICH HANOI HAD "SALUTED" ASEAN SUMMIT. LEE ALSO
RESPONDED TO QUESTION ON FUTURE OF U.S. BASES IN REGION
BY SAYING THAT IF "SOME" GREAT POWER DO NOT RESPECT
PROPOSED SEA ZONE OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY, IT MIGHT
BE "USEFUL" TO HAVE U.S. BASES IN REGION IN ORDER TO
"MAINTAIN THE BALANCE" -- AS CLOSE AS ANY OF FIVE LEADERS
CAME AT CONFERENCE TO OPENLY ENDORSING CONTINUATION OF
BASES.

8. THAILAND: PREMIER KUKRIT WAS CLEARLY ALSO-RAN IN
TERMS OF IMAGERY AT SUMMIT. KUKRIT'S RUMPLED, SCHOLARLY
(SOME SAID ALMOST "CHURCHILLIAN") APPEARANCE AND MEASURED,
ARTICULATE COMMENTARY ON ASEAN PROGRESS TO DATE AGAINST
CONSIDERABLE ODDS AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE COOPERATION
IN VARIOUS FIELDS DID NOT OBSCURE FACT THAT KUKRIT WAS
ONLY ONE OF FIVE NOT TO MENTION SECURITY PROBLEMS OR
ASPECTS OF ASEAN IN PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. HIS ALMOST
TOTAL CONCENTRATION ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
ASPECTS EVEN INCLUDED SPECIFIC MENTION OF A RECENT DRAMA
CONFERENCE IN BANGKOK. KUKRIT, SITTING AT FAR END OF
DAIS DURING PUBLIC SESSIONS AND OFTEN STARING AT MARCOS'
BACK AS THE LATTER TURNED IN EXAGGERATED ATTENTIVENESS
TOWARD THE SPEAKERS, APPEARED VERY MUCH THE ODD MAN OUT.
THAI DELEGATION CORRESPONDINGLY MAINTAINED LOWEST OF
PROFILES THROUGHOUT CONFERENCE.

9. "SIXTH-COUNTRIES": OF NON-ASEAN STATES, MOST PROMIN-
ENTLY REPRESENTED AT CONFERENCE EITHER THROUGH PRESS OR
INFORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE WERE AUSTRALIA, JAPAN, US,
UK, SOVIET UNION, INDIA AND CANADA. NUMBER OF AMBASSADORS
AND CHARGES INCLUDING BELGIAN AND ALGERIAN REMAINED IN
BALI FOLLOWING DIPLOMATIC CORPS APPEARANCE AT FORMAL
OPENING CEREMONY, BUT AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR WAS ONLY
ONE TO ATTEND CLOSING CEREMONY OR OTHERWISE PARTICIPATE
IN FURTHER SUMMIT ACTIVITIES. JAPAN, UK, US AND CANADA
AS WELL AS AUSTRALIA WERE REPRESENTED BY EMBASSY OFFICERS
FROM JAKARTA WHOM INDONESIANS ACCREDITED AS MEMBERS OF
PRESS CORPS. SOVIETS SENT TWO TASS REPRESENTATIVES.
NEVERTHELESS, READING OF MESSAGES AT OPENING CEREMONY
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FROM AUSTRALIA, CANADA, EEC AND JAPAN PLUS ATTENDANCE OF JAKARTA CORPS AT OPENING WERE ONLY OFFICIAL NODS BY SUMMIT IN DIRECTION OF OUTSIDE PARTICIPATION. MARCOS WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO EMPHASIZE THIS POINT IN HIS POST-"TEN EYES" MEETING PRESS CONFERENCE, NOTING THAT CONFEREES HAD NOT WANTED ANY OFFICIAL OBSERVERS OR OTHER OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT. VARIOUS INDONESIAN AND WESTERN REPORTERS QUERIED U.S. EMBOFF RE LACK OF US MESSAGE OF GREETINGS, BUT APPEARED SATISFIED WITH EXPLANATION THAT US ENDORSEMENT OF REGIONALISM INCLUDING ASEAN WELL KNOWN AND OFTEN EXPRESSED AND DID NOT APPEAR TO REQUIRE EXPLICIT RESTATEMENT ON THIS OCCASION WHICH MIGHT BE SUBJECT TO MISINTERPRETATION IN SOME EUARTERS

10. OVERALL COMMENT: PHOTO-FINISH OF PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMIT REQUIRING PERSONAL INTERVENTION OF SUHARTO AS WELL AS EVIDENT DIFFERENCES OF STYLE AND EMPHASIS AMONG THE ASEAN LEADERS APPEARED CLEARLY TO ILLUSTRATE ESSENTIALLY MODEST DEGREE OF CONSENSUS AND "CONCORD" WHICH ASEAN HAS ACHIEVED. NEVERTHELESS, DIFFERENCES ALSO SERVED TO PLACE IN RELIEF THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS ACHIEVED BY ASEAN AGAINST SOME ODDS. EDITOR OF LEADING INDEPENDENT INDONESIAN DAILY OBSERVED THAT HOLDING OF SUMMIT AT ALL WAS AN ACHIEVEMENT GIVEN VARIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES, AND ANY EXPECTATIONS THAT SUMMIT ITSELF WOULD BE OCCASION FOR DRAMATIC NEW INITIATIVES INVOLVED MISREADING OF NATURE OF ASEAN EVOLUTION TO DATE. LEE KUAN YEW SIMILARLY REFLECTED BOTH MEANING AND LIMITATIONS OF SUMMIT IN CLOSING CEREMONY COMMENT THAT MAIN QUESTION HAD NOW MOVED FROM "HAS ASEAN A FUTURE?" TO "WHAT KIND OF FUTURE IS IT TO BE?" HE ADDED IN PRE-DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE HOPED BY YEAR 2000 ASEAN STATES COULD DECIDE WHAT THEY WANTED IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC UNION. LIMITATIONS OF ASEAN IN SECURITY FIELD EVEN MORE CLEARLY REFLECTED BOTH IN NEW CONSENSUS CLAUSES GOVERNING DISPUTES SETTLEMENT IN AMITY TREATY AND IN HUSSEIN ONN'S INSISTENT STATEMENT THAT ANY SECURITY COOPERATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE "OUTSIDE" ASEAN. ANY REAL BREAKTHROUGHS IN THESE AREAS APPEAR TO LIE SOME DISTANCE IN FUTURE, AS COMPLEXION OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS AND WHAT MARCOS REFERRED TO AS EXTERNAL FACTORS BEYOND CONFIDENTIAL

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ASEAN'S CONTROL EVOLVE. FOR THE MOMENT, MOST VISIBLE -- AND NOT INSUBSTANTIAL -- ACHIEVEMENT OF BALI SUMMIT TO ON-SCENE OBSERVERS WAS THAT AFTER EIGHT-PLUS YEARS HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AT LEAST CAME, SAW AND "CONCORDED".
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